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ABSTRACT

Rural Africa includes some 80% of the African population: its people are poverty stricken, illiterate, ill-sheltered, and ill-nourished. These circumstances make rural development absolutely vital. However, past rural development policies have failed to take into consideration the structure and division of labor in the farm family, the traditional philosophy of the African decision making process, and the metaphysical world of the African peasant. Other obstacles to efficient rural development include conflict of interest and competition among the many agencies which labor to initiate rural development programs, as each institution operates on the assumption that its activities are sufficient to effect total change in the living conditions of the African farm family. Moreover, the technicians who act as change agents are highly susceptible to commands from their bureaucratic superiors and are, therefore, less responsive to the needs of the African rural family. The Comilla District Integrated Rural Development Programme (Bangladesh) offers an alternative model for rural development, as it incorporates a manager and a model farmer who act as internal, rather than external, change agents, attending external classes and then disseminating information at weekly village meetings. An integrated approach to rural development demands acceptance by governmental agencies of involvement of all social strata in planning and implementation. (JC)

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THE ROLE OF THE FARM FAMILY

IN INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT
THE DECISION MAKING MATRIX APPROACH

By: WILLIS BILL OBURA

Working Paper No.4

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THE ROLE OF THE FARM FAMILY IN INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT : THE DECISION MAKING MATRIX APPROACH

Paper prepared for Seminar on "The Role of Local Institutions in Integrated Approach to Rural Development organised by PAID in conjunction with Zambian Authorities and held at NIPA, Lusaka, August 15 to 26, 1977.

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THE ROLE OF THE FARM FAMILY IN INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT. THE DECISION MAKING MATRIX APPROACH

BY W. BILL OBURA*

INTRODUCTION

The jobs and incomes of the vast majority of the population in black Africa are rural. Even with a high rate of growth of non-rural employment the current low proportion of the total labour force in each wage employment and the current high rate of the total population ensures that the absolute number of rural people will be expanding inexorably for the foreseable future. It is unthinkable this vast and growing rural population should not significantly contribute to economic growth or that the benefits of growth should pass them by.

One can conveniently summarise some of the characteristics that stigma the rural population:-

1. In the first place at least 80% on the average of the population in black Africa live in the rural areas.
2. The highest economic activity is derived from the Agricultural sector.
3. And the people themselves are:-
   (a) Poverty stricken: farming itself is at subsistence level, using crude technology, and is practised as a way of life. The resulting possible income from such activities is too low to sustain human body growth.
   (b) Illiterate.
   (c) Lack of adequate shelter.
   (d) Nutritionally haggard, and consequently easily susceptible to health hazard.

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* The author is a lecturer in Agricultural Development at the Pan African Institute for Development, Buea, Cameroon. Many thanks are due to K. Osafo-Gyma and Tony Hagan for helpful comments on earlier draft of this paper.

(f) Denied national social security.

The traditional society, as we know it, is composed of, at the micro level, the farm family, which in itself is an independent economic institution responsible for policy formulation and decision making in all its activities. There is no other local institution that could be as local as the farm family unit! These family units form the majority comprising approximately 80% of the population, with a family earning of an income often as low as 300 US dollars per annum.[1] Their total dependency on agriculture as their way of life dictates the entire life circle of the farm family, which is interwoven with agriculture in varying stages of development. Actually, agriculture is not only an occupation or a source of income but it eventually determins the economic, social, political, physical and psychological development of the whole family. Agriculture further makes it possible for the family to assume and fulfill all the basic requirements for organising all units of production like labour, land, entrepreneurship, and management. In fact the activities of the family is a proto-type of integrated task in a traditional society. The seemingly problem is how this traditional proto-types of integrated tasks could be transferred to a modern self-sufficient integrated rural development.

The purpose of this paper is to review some of the empirical evidences which indicate that failure on the part of development experts to accommodate the sentiments of the farm families in the National Development Plans have contributed to the notorious failure of these plans to achieve their initial objectives. This paper puts a case for the integration of the farm family decision making parameters into the national philosophy of policy formulation and development planning.

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1 World Bank, Rural Development (Sector Policy Paper) page 4, Feb. 1975.

THE STRUCTURE AND DIVISION OF LABOUR OF THE FARM FAMILY

The structure of this unit can be conveniently looked from three corners: viz, the men of the world whose main responsibilities rotates around the security of the family, provision of shelter, growing and marketing of cash crops, and in some communities, fully in charge of livestock affairs. The young ones apart from school dibacle they are charged with such petty, but important tasks like bird scaring, livestock herding, etc. But the fate of women is different. Throughout the world they are still doomed to the art of bearing numerous children, to work hard without education or job training opportunities, and to die at an early age. In Africa women are traditionally responsible for growing and marketing food crops, although training in modern farm methods has been offered primarily to men. The role of women in rural development is infact more crucial than we intend to think. We all know that the ladies get on and do something while the men just sit and talk. I am reminded of Professor Britton,[1] who on the other hand was quotted as having been reminded of the story of the lady who was asked by an admiring visitor the secret of her happy marriage. "Oh its quite simple" she said, "my husband and I share all the planning and decision-making equally between us; he does all the planning and I do all the decision-making!"[2]

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DECISION MAKING

The decision making process of the farm family is but a complicated phenomenon. The whole exercise involves settlement of questions which confront the family unit in the day to day, season to season operation of his economic activities normally in the farm. It is a psychological struggle with the load of ideas, problems or even shapeless information and the eventual settlement of these issues into some concrete thoughts which are actionable opinions. The process

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1 Professor of Economics, and Head of Department of Economics, Wye College, University of LOndon.

2 On his closing address to the XVI International Conference of Agricultural Economists, held in Nairobi, Kenya, 26th July - 4th Aug. 1976.

is complicated: all the factors within the farmers production, social and political environment are brought into play.

The farmer is normally faced with a set of alternatives(choice situations). He portrays his rationality by ranking his alternatives according to his own particular preferences. In this process of decision making which cuts across his economic, political and social life, the farmer is faced with a range of general objectives:-

1. Some range of material enjoyment
2. Stable food supply.
3. Reasonable social status: the desire to lead a satisfactory family life.
4. To participate in social and cultural activities and leisure time diversion in the society.
5. To have security against misfortune, i.e. risk and uncertainty.
6. To make provision for old age.

Consequently, the decision on what to produce, when, how, and for whom, and the efforts of such activities on family goals e.g. tax payments, educating children, social debts, etc., will have to be scrutinised against the "standing conventions" of the community. The influence of such decision and the resultant activities on one's "standing" with one's peers on one's social group is very crucial. Buying a new plough while ignoring some of the many fundamentals of extended family practices may cause one to lose social standing in the community.

I am at this moment thinking of David Edward's research work in the economic activities of Jamaican rural population.[1] Although Jamaica is outside the

1 An economic study of Small Scale Farming in Jamaica.

jurisdiction of Africa, we shall find moral satisfaction in the realisation that Jamaican rural population is quite synonimous in characteristics with what we have in black Africa. Professor Edward concluded that the end goals of the community very much reflected their initial objectives. The need to have stable food supply was reflected by their desire to produce income for the near and distant future. And security of old age was reflected in two ways: firstly the acquisition of land which might be left to the children; and secondly, the willingness to plant tree crops, other than bananas. The objective of obtaining income in the near and distant future had two social implications;

1. to be accepted by the community, and
2. to have maximum independence.

The Jamaican community demonstrated the extent of their risk aversion by rejecting some farm practices (innovations) which were not familiar with the community. Farmers were only prepared to commit their resources when they were able to evaluate the outcome:-

1. as to its desirability
2. as to the degree of plausibility of its being realised.

The farmers' reluctance to bear unfamiliar risks have been largely couched in narrowly economic terms; but the economic aspects of the farmers' lives cannot be derived from other aspects. Introduction of unfamiliar techniques may lead to a fall in status or arousing community enmity.

ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL POSITIONS: A CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

In the process of the governments' efforts to develop the rural areas, the Rural family has been brought into contact with the exogenous forces which are non traditional institutions like government agencies, private marketing

agencies, administrative forces, extension officers, etc., all of them united in their desire to improve the sorry economic and social conditions of the rural people. And therefore they all advise, mainly on how the farmer can improve on his output which will enable him to better his living conditions.

One interesting factor is that the social scientists agree that the present farm development occurs as a result of discrete activities of specialised institutions. And each of the institutions operating any one of the combinations, or integrated type of activities, assumes that its activities are necessary and sufficient to effect total change to the living condition of the farm family. It is not surprising therefore to witness a direct competition of agencies of which end product is that they tend to sabotage one another.

I recall one of Professor Mbithi's papers (1976) which talks of a Research Work on Decision Making process of the farm family in one of Kenya's S.R.D.P. areas.[1] This paper brings into light the state of the peasant farmer. In one day a farmer may be visited by a health visitor who may advise on the need to reduce cash crop acreage, to increase food crop acreage and the nutrition of the family; that sometime later, on the same day, he may be visited by the crop specialist who reprimands him for not expanding his acreage for Macadamia nuts. On the same day, an extension officer may insist on the advantages of D.D.T. sephin as an effective insecticide, only to be advised a few minutes later by a private company representative of the marvellous demonstration results on the use of Gamatox. That he may yet if he is near the road be visited by the District Officer who threatens to "take him in" if he does not pay his taxes. These findings throw light on the confusion and frustration these encounters may generate. In certain areas, they appeared to have confused farmers to a standstill!

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[1] S.R.D.P. - Special Rural Development Programme.

The problem is that extension officers assume that they operate with all the necessary information. He convinces himself that he is well trained to assess local micro level situations, resource use and had a load of alternative prescriptions to suit each case or that he has originality, adaptability, and foresight to bridge any gaps in knowledge or prescriptions. I put it that this is a wrong assumption. I remember during my visits to Banga and Ediki villages in Cameroon, the agricultural officers complained of the unwillingness of the farmers to extend acreage on cash crop cultivation. From the point of view of the farmer such a campaign was intollerable for two main reasons:

1) The division of labour commands that the menfolk are left with the responsibility of cash crop cultivation while the women folk are charged with the responsibility of food crops. In a situation where the ratio of women to men is approximately 3:1 there arises the case of labour constraint.
2) The provision of stable food supply is crucial in one's social standing in the community. The endless celebrations (3 months) in the event of birth, marriage or bereavement demands that the food source must never run dry, as this may lead to one losing his social place in the community. And therefore resource allocation must favour food production.

Perhaps some of you are aware of Kennedy's research work which dealt at large with Economic Motivation involved in Peasant Cultivation of cotton in Western part of Kenya. Professor Kennedy recalls the findings of Applied Research in cotton cultivation which outlined the simple steps which if taken by the cultivator would significantly raise the yields and overall income derived from the crop. The farmers enjoyed free provisions of seed and insecticide

so that the only important input that remained was labour. But the rate of adapting this new innovation, which demands early planting of cotton as a prerequisite has been, and still is appaling. In Western Kenya, labour, factor is very crucial in decision making as to what to and when to produce. Early planted cotton, however competes with food crops for labour at the period of peak labour demand. But the cotton extension officers have only one concern: to maximise return or output per given unit of land. This assumption is never valid to the western Kenyan peasant farmers. One of their most important considerations is geared not necessarily to achive maximum profit but to minimise risk and uncertainty. The delicate balance of the peasant economy is easily upset by unfavourable weather or price changes. There has developed therefore in our societies what is referred to as the extended family system, which is basically the acceptance of responsibility to help those who through crop failure or misfortune have not enough food to see them through to the next harvest. He avoids the hazards of price variation by growing his own food. The year in which there is partial crop failure is also the year of high prices. The farmer must therefore look first to producing enough food for himself rather than depending on a cash income which must vary with price. Food crop therefore take precedence over cash crop, the latter providing the means of acquiring other lesser necessities. Cotton must therefore take second place to food crop. And where there is a conflict in labour demand between cotton and food crops, cotton will have second call on labour.

This is what Dr. Clayton (1968) called a neat exercise in the balancing of opportunity costs which is a consequence of constructing peak demands for farm labour. In subsistence economy, the farmers' objective is to maximise food output which may not derive simply from high average yield; this is a matter of technical co-efficients at the intensive and extensive margins of cultivation. If the average return to labour at the latter are greater than

at the former margin then food production will be maximised from a relatively large cropped acreage producing relatively low crop yields. Subsistence cultivation it appears commonly consider this to be the situation, to the dispair of agricultural extension officers who complain of deplorable levels of husbandry and consequent low yields due to too great an area being cropped. This is the usual conflict of interests between technical (extension) and economic (farm family) efficiency where the recommended policy of good husbandry (clean weeding) and high yields pays no heed to the opportunity cost such a policy involves.

Last year during my field work, in preparation of Kenya's Integrated Agricultural Development Programme Phase II this practice of conflicting interests on the part of the extension workers and the farm family were very much prevalent in almost all parts of Kenya.

THE DILEMA OF THE CHANGE AGENTS

The change agents are technically qualified men. Leonard (1974) and Ubudgo (1974) found out that the change agents (especially the grassroot workers) are very susceptible to commands from up the extension agencies hierarchy (being a systematised Civil Service Structure). The definition of their duties are essentially responding to and following the professionals placed somewhere up in the hierarchy. One of the rare qualifications of this professional is his extreme technical approach to the matrix of farm decision making. He observes the rural farm as a responsive expectant production firm which can be organised on the scientific principles according to the prescriptions from experts. And therefore he presupposes that the farm is operating in a knowledge vacuum and there is no need for the expert to integrate existing knowledge or pay attention to those factors that influence the farmers decision making process. Interestingly he believes in the validity of his prescriptions and has the resources to implement them.

The dilemma here is the recognition of conflicting objective function on the part of the change agent and the farm family. At micro level, we can accept four elements in the farmer's decision making process. The first is his objective, z. The traditional theory of the firm (the school of which the change agent is a product) assumes that the objective is to maximise profit. But an individual farmer may prefer an alternative objective, i.e. he may have some other objectives, or target, such as optimising his own satisfaction. The second element are the decision variables X, that is choices of action subject to control by the farmer; the options open to move him closer towards his objectives e.g. production possibilities, combination of factors of products. Thirdly there are events or uncontrolled variables Y, for example the weather, fire, etc., this is an area of imperfect knowledge normally termed risks and uncertainty situation. Similarly the farmer has to put into consideration some of the psychological factors, W, largely outside his control such as his historical background some traditional customs and taboos the whole lot of which influences entire economic, political and social strucutres of his life. Lastly, we need the mechanism linking the above elements together. For the traditional farmer his objective function runs $Z = F(W,X,Y.)$; and for the change agent, his objective function will have the limited variables, $Z = F(X, Y.)$.

The variable W is the unique element that makes all the difference.

TOWARDS INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE PLACE OF THE FARM FAMILY UNIT

A fundamental necessity in this race is the culmination of the conflicting interests on the part of the change agent and the farm family; hence the consideration of human factor becomes crucial. Through my experience as an Agricultural Economist with the Kenya Government, I have come to believe that the attitude of the population will determine the degree to which development programmes can succeed. It is therefore essential that the population take an active part in the formulation and execution of development programmes in order that the programmes may conform as closely as possible to local conditions and needs; and in order that the people may have some sense of control over their destiny. The question I would think we should address ourselves to is: Can the development strategy assist in, or contribute to our total effort towards making man retain his unique central position as "the means and the end of development", as a living reality and an aesthetic, ethical, moral and human person, in the infinite variety of his needs, his potentialities and manifold aspirations?

In 1966, Kenya hosted the now famous Kericho Conference which dealt at length with the aspects of the inter-relationship of rural development, employment and education. The conference conclusion emphasised greater priority to rural development in national resource allocation, the result of which, as part of Kenya's strategy to accelerate rural development, a Special Rural Development Programme, with all the administrative ingridients of Integrated Approach, was introduced in 1971 in six pilot areas, each differing from the other on basic economic, agronomic, and demographic characteristics. The special programme had three main objectives. The first objective was to record the impact of decentralisation in decision making machinery; secondly, to reduce rural unemployment by increasing wage employment; the third objective was to list and evolve best suitable approaches for replication in larger geographical areas with similar

characteristics. Some of the strategies used in persuit of these objectives included crop development, livestock development, soil conservation, cooperative development, rural access roads construction, home economics, and "community education".

After five years of continuous implementation, this programme has since been evaluated both by the IDS[1] and the Development Planning Division of Kenya's Ministry of Agriculture of which I was a member. Much have been learnt from this exercise. In Kwale area, programmes dealing with road construction was the only one that made some good headway. Crop development was over 90% failure, against the planned target. The coast people by nature abhore farming practices, and would prefer to sit from morning to evening under a coconut tree playing cards or what we call "Ajua" or at best, gossiping on some of the local sweet nothings. In Mbere area, cotton development absolutely collapsed because the planners did not put into consideration the opportunity cost that of cotton development would bestow on the farmer. In fact weather is a very unreliable partner in this area; the farmer normally directs his entire resources to food production emphasising the extensive method to accommadate risks and uncertainty involved. And here again, livestock development through Artificial Insemination never took off: they could not appreciate the wisdom of engaging artificial instruments when the natural ones were available; they looked at it as a taboo to their entire livestock population. The same suspicion prevailed in Vihiga Hamsi where even cattle dipping was looked upon as "going too far" in matters which could purely be domestic affairs.

Partly as the result of the lessons learned from the planning and implementation of the S.R.D.P. we were able to introduce the "human elements" - that is consideration of the family's "decision making paremeters" into our Integrated Agricultural Development Programme. This programme is only six months in the pipeline of implementation, and a lot is expected to be learned from this growing experience.

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[1] IDS Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi

From the articles that have been passing through my work desk, I have come to realise that the general opinion of experts in the I.A.R.D. is that decentralisation of administrative and development structures is one of the essential pre-conditions for an integrated rural development. I am beginning to think, as a result of my experience, that the Diffusion or Integration of Peasant's decision making model into the government's philosophy and technology of planning will by the end of the day, play the organ. An interesting strategy, some of usnow call "Menguitism", is now being moulded in the Revolutionary Ethiopia. Let us recall Tikdem No. 171 of 1975 which validates the organisation and consolidation of Peasant Associations. The associations are expected to enable members to:-

1. administer their own problems.
2. solve their own local problems (adjudication)
3. participate directly in the political, economic and social movement; and
4. jointly organise and develop cooperatives at all levels.

Another Tikdem No.103 of 1976, provides for the administration and control of schools by the masses,[1] i.e. Peasants association and Town dwellers association. A close look at these Tikdems show three important factors:-

1. acceptance of the philosophy of absolute decentralisation of administrative structures.
2. absolute decentralisation of decision making and philosophy of planning to the masses.
3. an acceptance on the part of the Authority that the masses are able to determine and therefore control their own destiny.

To me this seem to be the beginning of the integration of the Peasants Philosophy of development and that of the state organ. And to those who are the doubting Thomases we have a beautiful example at Comilla in Bangladesh. Bangladesh may

[1] Masses is defined as working class, the peasantry, the party bourgeous class and other anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-bureaucratic capitalist social state and inviduals.

seem a far fetched example, but it has a lot in common with Rural Africa. It is predominantly an agricultural country. It is a land of villages with nearly 90% of the population living in villages. Not less than 75% of the vast rural population are engaged in agriculture. Of the total rural population almost 50% are women and 37% are landless labourers. The rate of literacy is 23%. The agricultural labour force remains idle for a considerable part of the year. The majority of the rural population live in poverty, punctuated with such loyal associates like decease, malnutrition, hunger, lack of shelter, unhealthy environment, illiteracy, unemployment dependency etc. It is a common sight in the process of land preparation to witness half fed bullocks, pulling half fed men only to compete for the meagre yields.

As early as 1961 the then Pakistan Government had started a Village Agriculture and Industrial Development Programme (V-AID) in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). This programme was organised for the all-round development of villages. The Government of the USA provided both technical staff and funds that were deemed necessary. The objectives of the programme were to raise agricultural production, organise community services, coordinate the working of government departments, and create a self-help spirit in the minds of the people. One development officer, two supervisors, and twenty village level multi-purpose workers were appointed for each development area, with coordinating committees at the village, divisional, district, provincial and national levels, all of whom were technically qualified men.

Although the V-AID had all the ingridients of "Integration" i.e. appropriate philosophy of planning, and appropriate administrative structure, the programme had to be abandoned after ten years of implementation, because of an absolute poor performance.

One fundamental factor had been ignored - the sentiments of the villagers themselves in programme planning and implementation. More recently, that is

1973, the Rural Development academy Comilla has evolved a new model of Rural Development known as the "Comilla Approach". This places stress on the local people to establish their own local institutions in the form of a Primary Cooperative Society at the village level and Thana Central Cooperative Association at the Thana level.[1] The Thana Council and Thana Training and Development Centre were established for organising rural development activities. The Village Cooperative society is run by a manager and a model farmer who visit the Thana Central Cooperative Association once in a week to deposit the compulsory savings of the members of the village cooperative society; and they attend classes at the Thana Training and Development Centre provided by the officers of nation-building departments at the Thana level on, agriculture, animal husbandry, social welfare, family planning, cooperatives, etc. The knowledge gathered there is then disseminated in the weekly meeting of the village cooperative society. Thus, under this new system, instead of sending an External Agent to the villages, the Managers and the model farmer play the role of Change Agents.

This approach, which is now known as "Comilla District Integrated Rural Development Programme" and which has now become a national programme has so far proved a success. Measured against the objective of increase in agricultural production, and using 1961 figures as the base, in 1971 when the programme was abandoned the percentage increase in output is recorded as 5% cumulative. But in 1976 after launching the Comilla Approach, the percentage increase had risen to about 60% cumulative, and using 1971 figures as the base, the cumulative increase stands at 55.6%. Nothing would be more encouraging than this!

RE-ORIENTATION OF INTEGRATED APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The effectiveness of this approach demands the acceptance by the Governments

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1 A Thana is the smallest unit of Police and Civil Administration in Bangladesh consisting of 8-12 Unions comprising 100-300 villages convening 100-150 square miles with a population of 200,000-300,000 (two to three lakhs).

concerned of the philosophy and technology of planning and a design of development strategy, its sincere application and the involvement of all strata of the society in the planning and execution or implementation. This will bring into question the very nature of administrative and planning structures that exist in a society. Although some countries, notably Tanzania, and now perhaps, Ethiopia, are moving to:-

1. The integration of the government's and other related institutions, policy formulation and decision making;
2. Acceptance of the philosophy of decentralisation of government machinery to enable the people at the grassroot to have more say in the process of development;
3. Coordination of departmental activities to necessitate coherence in the services provided by the Government;

the role of the farm family in overall national development will remain hampered until, and unless:-

1. the local decision-making framework of the family unit is recognised as specific socio-cultural, socio-technical and ecologically bound knowledge models. They incorporate:
   (a) priorities as defined by the family in particular, and the community in general.
   (b an approach to a problem in its total context.
   (c a strong component of re-inforcing the individual and collective personality in its capacity to tap local opinion, contribution and involvement.[1]

[1] See Mbithi: Farm Decision Making with respect to Social Psychological Elements and the Human Factor in Agricultural Management.

2. The integration of the parameters of this decision making model, into the governments philosophy and technology of planning. The metaphysical world of the African is very much alive in him. To remain blind to this fact can have catastrophic consequences! Don't we read of football captains from USA rushing to East Africa to seek technical advice from our Witch doctors?

3. Professor Mbithi (1976) suggested two areas of action:
   a) Re-open discussion on farm management and production models whose formulation were earlier dominated by a technical approach.
   b) Re-discuss the concept of technology to shift it from a serile scientific outlook into the psychic world which is dorminant in indigenous agricultural decision making criteria. Studies in Kenya have shown that practices such as time of planting, harvesting, and storage were governed by strict observances, rituals and taboos!

THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY IN INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development as such, must not be viewed in isolation. The rest of the economy and external trade are important associates. In any economy one or more sectors serves as a prime mover in development, driving the rest of the economy forward. So long as it advances the rest advance; if it stops they stop. In black Africa, there is as yet only one sector which has effective capacity to do that, and that is the Rural Sector. It influences the rest in six ways:-

1. It sells its product to other sectors, which use that product as an input material. Thus it may serve as a base for expanding the output of other industries which use it as raw materials.
2. It buys their goods and services for use in producing or selling. For this matter it promotes industrial business and service development in the economy.

3. The income it earns (from the sale of its output serve as an expanding market to other industries e.g. consumer goods, medical services, etc.
4. It generates savings and pays taxes which can be used to develop other goods within the sector, or in other sectors, including government services.

One seeks the genesis of change. If the output of groundnuts grow, the railway will need more wagons, and there will be more employment opportunities; but if the output of groundnuts is not growing, the railways cannot make it grow by buying more wagons!

5. The sector provides among other things food for itself, and the urban population, and through its activities provide the much sought for foreign exchange.
6. The provision of Income and Employment opportunities cannot be under-rated.

When we think of the rural sector as composed of a cluster of units of farm families then at the macro level we can validify the role of the family in national development as above.

Through this role several contributions are made to the farm family itself:-

1. improvement in the redistribution of rural income by obtaining significant increase in the proportion of farmers who obtain a cash income from their land.
2. improvement of nutritional standard in the rural areas.
3. improvement in the infrastructural investments, contribution to higher standard of living.
4. through the resulting multiplier processes, the generation of other cottage industries i.e. the philosophy of cumulative causation, which,
5. eventually provides extra employment generating activities.

To sum up, I recall Dudley Seers contention:[1] that "Development means creating the conditions for the realisation of human personality, and this cannot be measured by national income figures. Its evaluation must take into account three linked economic criteria - whether there has been a reduction in:

i. poverty;

ii. unemployment; and

iii. inequality."

We are talking of the people, and in particular the rural people. And they are the means and the end of development. It is these people that can play an important role in development particularly rural development, with special reference to integrated approach. The question is "How"? This paper has tried to examine under what conditions, the farm family can contribute to development, and in particular the role it can play in rural development, with special reference to Integrated Approach.

CONCLUSION

In my mind, I have been trying to put myself in the place of peasant farm family very much confronted by the technical advisers, whom to him are exogenous to his world, and who seem to dictate the terms of development. It is like when a dictatorship is imposed in your community, the very first thing you feel, the very first day - and it is a feeling that has a totally spontaneous immediacy, free from all mental elaboration - the first feeling is humiliation. You are being deprived of the right to consider yourself worthy of responsibility for your own life and destiny. This feeling of humiliation grows day by day as a result of the oppressor's increasing effort to force your mind to accept all the vulgarity which makes up the abortive mental workes of dictators. You feel as if your reason and your human status were being deeply insulted everyday. And then comes the attempt

[1] See Development Digest, Vol.XI - No.2 - April, 1973.

to impose on you by fear, acceptance of various incomprehensible actions of theirs that you hear about, or that you actually see them commit against your fellow human beings. You begin to live with daily humiliation of fear, and you begin to loathe yourself. And then, deeply wounded in your conscience, as a citizen you begin to feel a solidarity with the people to whom you belong. "A case of conflict of interests".

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